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under the circumstances, was justifiable. The volume should be looked upon as a work dealing especially with the action of the masses and with the economic side of the Revolution, well fitted to supplement the older histories which treat too exclusively of the political side of the movement. There is no volume of the same size in English, nor in any other language, so far as I am aware, that gives as satisfactory an account of this very important and much neglected side of the Revolution. Members of the guild of historians will find it semi-scientific and will note many weak spots in the narrative. How could it be otherwise? The real reason that we have had no satisfactory account of the Revolution from the economic point of view has been that it was impossible to produce a satisfactory account in the present state of our knowledge. The popular uprisings, the destruction of feudal rights, the land question, and the communist movement, these are the subjects with which Kropotkin concerns himself, and yet so little monographic work has been done upon them that the historian is forced to form his synthesis from facts established by a study of the sources, a task that is impossible for any one man. Kropotkin is acquainted with most of the good monographs that have been written on his subject—he refers to them in foot-notes—and has used a goodly number of printed sources, but he has not frequented the archives and he was not able to make use of the monographs and sources, considerable in number, which have been published in the last three years. The specialist will find here little that is new, will shake his head over many daring constructions, and will find places indicating that Kropotkin is not as well informed as he should be, but everything considered, it must be acknowledged that with all its faults the book is full of hypotheses which are worth testing and which will open the eyes of students of history who are not acquainted with the monographic work that has been done on the economic side of the Revolution. The volume was well worth translating into English and should be read by every teacher as a help to a better understanding of the great French movement of a hundred years ago.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The Love Affairs of Napoleon. Translated from the French of JOSEPH TURQUAN by J. LEWIS MAY, with numerous portraits. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 378.)

Napoléon Adultère: Suivi du Dialogue sur l'Amour par Napoléon Bonaparte. Par HECTOR FLEISCHMANN. (Paris: Albert Méricant. 1909. Pp. viii, 288.)

THE first epoch of interest in Napoleonic studies, which practically began with the translation of the remains of the emperor from St. Helena to the Hotel des Invalides in 1840 and ended with the fall of

the Second Empire thirty years later, was characterized by an adoration of his remarkable achievements especially in war. The second epoch, which began with the centenary of the Revolution in 1889 after a score of years of almost complete neglect, is curiously marked by an intense interest in the personality of Napoleon and even of his worthless relatives. The first striking evidence of this new form of interest was the publication in 1893 of *Napoléon et les Femmes*, the first volume in M. Frédéric Masson's monumental series of Napoleonic studies, which has won for him a chair in the French Academy. M. Masson had been librarian in the Foreign Office and had already made his reputation as an historical student when he began his series of masterpieces in historical literature. The historical student became merged in the literary artist, and he chose to write *ex cathedra* and to omit the absolutely essential citations of authorities. Later investigators are thus left unnecessarily in the exasperating position of having to use M. Masson's books without being able to verify properly the accuracy and impartiality of statement except by the almost impossible repetition of M. Masson's researches. While M. Masson has an established reputation as a master in historical research and authorship, his imitators have scarcely proven worthy apprentices in either art. To the historical student their works afford an insignificant amount of new information and to the general reader they have naught to recommend them except their unsavory character. Useless in the original, their translation cannot be condemned in sufficiently strong terms. Students, authors, and translators who care to serve humanity rather than pandor to it will find abundant legitimate occupation in studying Napoleon as a statesman instead of as a lover. The illicit demand which required twenty-one editions of M. Masson's first volume within four years also called forth the quasi-biographical volumes of the Corsican Turquan, whose *Napoléon Amoureux d'après les Témoignages des Contemporains*, published in 1897, has now been translated by Mr. May. M. Turquan does cite authorities but they are usually the gossip and trash of Constant, the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Mme. Récamier, Mme. Rémusat, and others. The latest indiscretions are from the pen of a youthful Belgian dramatic writer and theatrical manager, M. Hector Fleischmann, who, oddly enough, shows a genuine appreciation of historical scholarship and criticism. His citations of authorities are copious and are often of a higher character than those of M. Turquan. His discrimination is shown in turning down, with a decisive foot-note or a passing reference, trivialities which M. Turquan details at length. M. Fleischmann's work is of much higher grade than his disgusting title would indicate. After all, the most useful book for the student remains M. Charles Nauroy's *Les Secrets des Bonapartes* published in 1889.

Over Bonaparte the general and Napoleon the emperor no mistress ever held sway for a single moment. No act of public significance either in war or in peaceful statecraft testifies to the existence of a

mistress of Napoleon. The Valois and the Bourbon kings with their ancient lineage and their assured position lost no prestige because of the well-known influence of their avowed mistresses; but Napoleon Bonaparte, the Revolutionary usurper and the parvenu emperor, thoroughly understood that such derelictions as were condoned in Louis XIV. would overwhelm him with ridicule. Moreover, both of his marriages were unfortunate. In spite of his loyal and ardent devotion, Josephine's irregularities were the gossip of Milan and Paris before 1796 had closed. The divorce, impossible for the youthful aspirant to power, scarcely escaped being ridiculous in the triumphant emperor of 1809. His second wife, the mother of his one legitimate child, the King of Rome, too obviously recalled her great-aunt, the hated "Autrichienne", and her scandalous desertion in 1814 has justly made her infamous. Josephine proved an unsatisfactory link with the ancient nobility of France and Marie Louise was a useless link with the ancient dynasties of Europe. These two women whose relations with Napoleon were of vast personal import had little influence upon the soldier and ruler which the serious historian must take into account. A single paragraph will almost suffice for such recital of Napoleon's relations with other women as the careful biographer or historian will wish.

Soon after he reached his twentieth year, Bonaparte began to consider the various women he met with an eye to the selection of a wife. Several roused his momentary fancy but he paid more serious court to Mlle. Colombier, Mlle. de Lauberie de Saint-Germain, and Mlle. Désirée Clary. The lover, rejecting or rejected, later honored the successful suitors of these women, making the first, M. Garempel de Bressieux, a baron of the Empire, the second, M. Montalivet, a count of the Empire and Minister of the Interior, and the third, Bernadotte, marshal of the Empire and Prince of Ponte Corvo. Bonaparte's infidelities as a husband were the direct result of the incorrigible derelictions of his first wife, Josephine, and every one of his *liaisons* which is reasonably authenticated belongs to the period between the campaign of 1798 in Egypt and the divorce in 1809. Mme. Fourès during the Egyptian campaign, Mlle. George of the Comédie Française and Mme. Duchâtel during the Consulate, Mme. Grassini, Mme. Gazzani, Mlle. Denuelle de la Plaigne, and Mme. Walewska during the Empire, each held sway for a brief period in his affections. Each of the last two bore him a son, the only illegitimate offspring of recognized Napoleonic parentage; and their birth certainly had some weight in determining Napoleon to divorce Josephine. Count Léon (1806-1881) dragged out a ridiculous and inconsequential existence, but the second, Count Walewski (1810-1868), held numerous appointments under the Orleans Monarchy and the Second Empire, being Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1855 to 1860. True enough two of these mistresses were Italians, and one a Pole, true likewise, there were aspirations toward independent national existence in Italy and in Poland, but absolutely no proof has been adduced

that Napoleon's relations with these women had any political significance whatsoever. Besides these seven women who might be regarded as mistresses, a considerable number of women afforded the emperor momentary distraction either in careless frivolities or in brutal lust. It serves no purpose to know their names or number. It is difficult to conceive why M. Turquan includes between the covers which hold the accounts of these immoralities many pages of idle gossip about the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Mme. Récamier, Mme. Rémusat, and even Napoleon's adopted daughter, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, to none of whom does he dare to impute any relation with Napoleon worse than indiscreet. M. Fleischmann has called attention to the existence of a group of women who tried to throw themselves at the unwilling Bonaparte by his chapter on the most redoubtable of them, Mme. de Staël, while several of M. Turquan's cases properly belong in this group. M. Fleischmann also devotes a chapter to the refutation of the antiquated libel of incestuous relations with Pauline. The known correspondence between Napoleon and Pauline, as well as his incessant efforts to enforce upon the members of his family some respect for the decencies of life if not for the moral law, all go to disprove this slander.

These books being ruled out on the score of possible historical or biographical importance, it remains to inquire whether they have any justification as psychological studies. The answer is most emphatically, almost confessedly, in the negative. In the usurped position of First Consul, Bonaparte made it his programme to restore order not only in Church and State but also in society, which woefully needed it after the scandalous days of the Directory. He enforced by the rigid provisions of his Code and by constant exercise of his regulating influence an almost puritanic sanctity of the family. In conjugal love, he stated unequivocally his belief, and it was the ideal he sought in vain in each of his marriages, for he was false only to a wife who had repeatedly proven her infidelity. Love as a physical passion, as immorality, he always denounced as an evil, though no one of his own lapses rose above this level. Except in the case of Mme. Fourès, his irregularities of private life were rigorously screened from the public gaze, and never for a moment did Napoleon neglect the duties of his position or fail again to maintain its respectability. It was the very fact of his extreme care in these two matters that compelled the disappointed husband to reduce his love affairs to the sole object of gratifying his passions, though it is his mistresses, like Mlle. George, who defend him from the charge of brutality. Dire poverty afforded Bonaparte but the slightest opportunities of society, of meeting women, and of learning the ways of the world until his twenty-seventh year, so it is little wonder that M. Masson and M. Fleischmann find him "timide"—bashful, and that his foes called him brutal. Furthermore, it must be remembered in judging Napoleon's manners that he was a skillful actor, as Mr. Richard Mansfield has pointed out, and knew how to use both rudeness and courtesy

to suit his inscrutable purposes. Only a fellow Corsican, M. Turquan, could have been mean enough to depict Bonaparte as a woman's fool. Bonaparte made mistakes, even his marriages were such, but the master of men was ever supremely master of himself.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Le Partage des Biens Communaux: Documents sur la Préparation de la Loi du 10 Juin 1793. Publiés par GEORGES BOURGIN, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1908. Pp. xxiv, 757.)

THIS book is concerned with one of the most important problems before those committees of agriculture and commerce, of the three French Revolutionary assemblies, whose published *procès-verbaux* were described in the last number of the REVIEW, pp. 380-381. It appears that the Constituent Assembly never seriously investigated the problem of the communal lands; perhaps because of the overshadowing magnitude of the cognate problem of the sale of the lands which were the product of the confiscation of Church property. And yet the amount of the communal lands was considerable, if we may trust an estimate, ascribed in one of the documents to Turgot, which places the area at eight million arpents and the annual income at eighteen million livres. As the subtitle indicates, the present volume carries the matter only to the passage of the law of June 10, 1793. The editor explains that a succeeding volume will show that the terms of the law were in the event modified. This was not due to any haste in preparing the law, for the committee of the Legislative Assembly began its inquiries in November, 1791, and the law was shaped according to the second of two carefully studied projects.

The volume includes: first, the replies of local official bodies to two inquiries sent out by the committee of the Legislative Assembly in regard to the best method of utilizing or dividing the communal lands; second, the reports and projects of the committee; third, several radical decrees, adopted by the assembly under the immediate impression of the events of August 10, 1792, and which ordered the division of the lands, but did not indicate the method; fourth, protests and petitions from local bodies and individuals, called forth by this hasty legislation and the troubles it had caused in the departments; and, finally, the reports of the committee of the Convention, with the text of the law of June 10.

Although these documents contain no statistical information concerning the condition and extent of the communal lands in different parts of the country, they are drawn from memorials or reports of official bodies representing a majority of the departments and make the situation